

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 AF-10 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08
SSO-00 CCO-00 /060 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:SESCUDERO:EK/CB/JH
APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER
AF:WEDMONDSON
IO:CWMAYNES
S/P:WALAKE
UNA:AHOLLOWAY
S/S/: DANDERSON
EB:JKATZ

-----011232 130155Z /61

O R 130125Z AUG 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 191917 TOSEC 080351

FOR MOOSE FROM CHRISTOPHER:CARACAS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, RH, SF, NI, US

SUBJECT: LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE: FOLLOWING FOR
REVIEW AND DISCUSSION WITH SECRETARY, TIME PERMITTING,
ON RETURN FLIGHT (ACTION MEMORANDUM -- S/S 7720988)

1. ISSUE FOR DECISION:

-- ANDY YOUNG, PROBABLY ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBERS OF CONG-
RESS, WILL LEAD THE US DELEGATION TO THE LAGOS CONFERENCE,
A GATHERING INTENDED TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC COURSES OF ACTION
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TO DISMANTLE APARTHEID AND REVIEW THE STEPS NATIONS HAVE
TAKEN TO COMBAT APARTHEID. THIS MEMORANDUM REVIEWS THE
POSITIONS THE UNITED STATES MIGHT TAKE AT THE CONFERENCE.
IT SUGGESTS, FOR YOUR DECISION, SEVERAL MEASURES THE
UNITED STATES MIGHT ANNOUNCE AT THE CONFERENCE.

2. ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS:

-- THE PREPARATORY DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY THE UNITED
NATIONS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION

AGAINST APARTHEID, TO BE HELD IN LAGOS AUGUST 22-26,
WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EFFECTIVE

INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID. VIRTUALLY
ALL UN MEMBERS WILL ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND
WESTERN GOVERNMENTS IN PARTICULAR WILL BE EXPECTED
TO DESCRIBE STEPS THEY HAVE TAKEN OR PROPOSE TO TAKE
AGAINST APARTHEID. THE CONFERENCE WILL SET THE STAGE
FOR SUBSEQUENT MEASURES DURING THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL
ASSEMBLY.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF THEMES AND INITIATIVES
WHICH MAY BE GIVEN SPECIAL PROMINENCE AT THE CONFERENCE:

--WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD USE THEIR ECONOMIC
LEVERAGE ON SOUTH AFRICA BY BARRING ALL NEW INVESTMENT.
THIS HAS BEEN A RECURRING THEME AT RECENT SESSIONS OF
THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, E.G. THE SO-CALLED
"SWEDISH RESOLUTION".

--THOSE WHO CONTRIBUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S WELL
BEING, ALLEGEDLY MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, DESERVE
PARTICULAR CRITICISM.
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--ZIONISM IS AKIN TO APARTHEID. WE HAVE
STRONGLY URGED THE ARABS AND AFRICANS TO AVOID SUCH
LINKAGE. WE HAVE COUNSELED AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS THAT
EQUATING ZIONISM AND APARTHEID WILL CERTAINLY BRING
A VERY STRONG REACTION FROM THE UNITED STATES AND
DAMAGE AFRICAN INTERESTS. WE ARE CAUTIOUSLY HOPEFUL
THAT THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, WHICH ALL
KNOW WILL SET THE THEMES FOR THE UPCOMING 32ND UN
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WILL BE REASONABLY MODERATE. THE
NIGERIANS HAVE INDICATED THEIR DESIRE TO WORK AGAINST
INTRODUCTION OF THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE; ANY PROGRESS
IN DEALING WITH THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS
WILL FURTHER CONTRIBUTE TO A MODERATE AFRICAN ATTITUDE.
CONCERNING ARABS APPROACHES, BILL MAYNES DISCUSSED
THE LAGOS CONFERENCE IN CAIRO WITH EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS,
WHO STATED THEY WOULD WORK TO "CALM DOWN" THE
ATMOSPHERE. EVEN IF WE SUCCEED IN AVOIDING THE
ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE, WE MUST EXPECT STRONG ATTACKS
AGAINST ISRAEL FOR MILITARY SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA.

THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN TURNING
INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AGAINST APARTHEID UP AT
LEAST ONE MORE NOTCH. MOREOVER, THE U.S. WILL BE
LOOKED TO FOR SOME EVIDENCE OF FURTHER EVOLUTION IN
ITS POLICIES AGAINST APARTHEID, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT
OF WIDELY PUBLICIZED PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE
VICE PRESIDENT IN VIENNA.

3. THE OPTIONS:

WE CAN RESPOND TO AFRICAN EXPECTATIONS IN THREE WAYS: BY REVIEWING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS; BY PROJECTING FUTURE ACTION OR BY ANNOUNCING ACTION.

A) REVIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

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THE CHIEF THEMES THAT MIGHT BE INCLUDED EITHER IN THE MAIN U.S. STATEMENT OR IN A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE COULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

--A FORCEFUL RESTATEMENT OF THE POSITION WHICH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE DELIVERED TO VORSTER IN VIENNA.

--A GENERAL REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE THE VICE PRESIDENT MET WITH VORSTER IN VIENNA. IT WOULD BE NOTED THAT THERE HAS BEEN INCREASING DEBATE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ON THE FUTURE OF APARTHEID AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE IS CLEARLY BEING FELT. HOWEVER, THE CONCLUSION WOULD BE THAT NO SIGNIFICANT MEASURES HAVE YET BEEN TAKEN BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF FOSTERING GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

--THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF U.S. BUSINESSMEN TO THE DELETERIOUS EFFECTS OF RACIAL UNREST IN SOUTH AFRICA TOGETHER WITH THE FAILURE TO PROGRESS POLITICALLY ON RACIAL ISSUES AS FACTORS WHICH U.S. BUSINESSMEN SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BEFORE INVESTING.

B) PROJECTING FUTURE ACTION:

--THERE COULD BE A PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS UNDERTAKING A REVIEW OF ALL OFFICIAL U.S. RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING GOVERNMENT AGENCIES OR FEDERALLY FUNDED INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT COULD INCLUDE A STATEMENT THAT WE WILL HAVE TO SUBSTANTIALLY
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REDUCE RELATIONSHIPS IF THERE IS NOT MEANINGFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

--REFERENCE TO THE CODE OF CONDUCT WHICH MAJOR AMERICAN BUSINESSES WITH SUBSIDIARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE ADOPTED TO COUNTER APARTHEID. WE CAN ENCOURAGE WIDER

ADHERENCE TO THE CODE. BUT POINT OUT THAT ADDITIONAL STEPS, SUCH AS RECOGNITION OF BLACK LABOR UNIONS,

ARE ALREADY USG POLICY AND NOTE THAT WE STRONGLY URGE U.S. FIRMS TO INSTITUTE SUCH PRACTICES. (THE EC WILL BE ANNOUNCING A SIMILAR CODE AT THE CONFERENCE.)

C) ANNOUNCING ACTION:

MOVING BEYOND REVIEWS OF POLICY AND U.S. PRACTICE, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF STEPS THAT COULD BE ANNOUNCED IN A STATEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE A DIRECT EFFECT UPON SOUTH AFRICA:

--THE MESSAGE COULD ANNOUNCE THE SUSPENSION OF ALL EXIM CREDITS AND FACILITIES FOR BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

--A DECISION TO REVIEW WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN MORE VIGOROUSLY URGE THOSE AMERICAN COMPANIES WHICH DO NOT ALREADY DO SO TO CONFORM THEIR POLICIES TO THE INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

--A REVERSAL OF OUR PRESENT NEUTRAL STANCE ON INVESTMENT, MAKING AN ORAL STATEMENT THAT IN VIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS THE USG DISCOURAGES AMERICAN FIRMS FROM INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

4. ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THESE THREE APPROACHES MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

A) REVIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

--IN A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE A FORCEFUL RESTATEMENT OF OUR POSITION COUPLED WITH CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR LACK OF PROGRESS WOULD IMPRESS BOTH PRETORIA AND THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES WITH OUR SINCERITY OF PURPOSE.

--THERE WOULD BE NO BUREAUCRATIC PROBLEM WITH CLEARING SUCH STATEMENTS FOR THE CONFERENCE.

--HOWEVER, SUCH A COURSE WOULD BREAK NO NEW GROUND AND WOULD DO LITTLE TO OBIVATE CONCERNS OF MANY AFRICAN STATES THAT THE U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS STILL BASED ON RHETORIC RATHER THAN ACTION. ALREADY, THE AFRICANS ARE ARGUING PRIVATELY THAT WE HAVE BACKED AWAY FROM THE MONDALE POLICY BECAUSE

MONTHS HAVE PASSED WITH NO U.S. RESPONSE TO THE LACK OF ACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

--A POSITION BASED ON RHETORIC AND LACKING IN SUBSTANCE WOULD PROBABLY WEAKEN OUR ATTEMPT TO MODERATE THE CONFERENCE'S FINAL PRODUCTS.

B) PROJECTING FUTURE ACTION:

--THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A GENERAL REVIEW OF U.S./ SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WOULD BE WELCOMED AT THE CONFERENCE, BUT WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO GENERATE ENTHUSIASM AS IT DOES NOT DESCRIBE SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO TAKE NOW TO WEAKEN APARTHEID. THE
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LIMITED ACTIONS DISCUSSED AT THE PRC WOULD HAVE SOME IMPACT ON SOUTH AFRICA, BUT COULD BE CRITICIZED BY THE AFRICAN STATES AS INSIGNIFICANT. TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE ARE FINALLY CLOSING THE "GRAY AREA" SALES LOOPHOLE IN OUR VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO, OR THAT WE ARE REDUCING, BUT NOT CLOSING, OUR DEFENSE ATTACHE OFFICE, COULD BRING MORE CRITICISM THAN SUPPORT. HOWEVER, THE RECENT DECISION NOT TO ALLOW ANY U.S. SALES OF ANY KIND TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY AND POLICE COULD BE CITED AND WOULD BE HELPFUL.

--IT WOULD HAVE SOME EFFECT ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS WHO WOULD BE BOUND TO SEE IT AS ANOTHER LIMITED STEP IN A LENGTHENING LIST OF PRESSURES.

--AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS SORT WOULD REQUIRE PRIOR COORDINATION WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE, POSSIBLY INCLUDING THE PRC.

--IT COULD STIMULATE ACTIVE LOBBYING BY VARIOUS SPECIAL INTERESTS AGAINST REDUCING USG TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

C) ANNOUNCING ACTION:

--THE PURPOSE OF THE LAGOS CONFERENCE IS TO DEVISE MEANS OF COMBATING APARTHEID AND THE AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS WILL EXPECT THE MAJOR WESTERN NATIONS TO PRODUCE SPECIFIC FORMULAE:

--THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE IMPRESSED WITH THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONSCIOUSLY IMPLEMENT POLICIES LEADING TO THE DETERIORATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

--AS IN THE PAST, COMMERCE WILL BE LIKELY TO
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OPPOSE POLICIES WHICH COULD HARM THE U.S./SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS RELATIONSHIP.

--THESE OPTIONS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BEFORE BY THE PRC, BUT WERE NOT ADOPTED. TIME IS SHORT AND AN ADDITIONAL PRC MEETING WOULD BE NECESSARY IF THERE IS TO BE A DECISION BEFORE AUGUST 22.

5. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS:

A) THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO PURSUE THE POSSIBILITY OF A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO THE LAGOS CONFERENCE INCLUDING, AS SPECIFIC US STEPS AGAINST APARTHEID, THE ACTIONS IN PARTS "A" AND "B" ABOVE. CONSIDERATION OF PART "C" ACTIONS SHOULD BE WITHHELD PENDING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON SOUTH AFRICA'S WILLINGNESS TO BE HELPFUL ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IO AND AF FAVOR THIS OPTION AND FEEL STRONGLY THAT A SIMPLE REVIEW OF PAST STATEMENTS WOULD BE WHOLLY INADEQUATE FOR A CONFERENCE WHICH WILL DETERMINE THE TREATMENT ACCORDED TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AT THE UPCOMING UNGA. SUCH A WEAK U.S. POSITION WOULD BE UNRESPONSIVE TO THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE, I.E., TO DEVISE MEANS OF COMBATING APARTHEID. MORE IMPORTANTLY THE AFRICANS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DISAPPOINTED BY WHAT THEY WOULD PERCEIVE AS A LACK OF FORTHCOMINGNESS, MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR US TO PREVENT CONSIDERATION AT LAGOS OF THE ZIONISM-RACISM RESOLUTION OR TO MODERATE THE CONFERENCE'S FINAL PRODUCTS. SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WILL BE DETERMINED BY CONSIDERATIONS APART FROM WHAT WE SAY ON APARTHEID AT LAGOS.

APPROVE
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DISAPPROVE

B) S/P RECOMMENDS APPROVAL OF "A" BUT NOT "B" OR "C" ON GROUNDS THAT THE TIMING IS WRONG. WE STILL DO NOT KNOW WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA WILL CONTINUE TO BE FORTHCOMING ON NAMIBIA OR WHETHER IT WILL LEND ITS CRITICAL SUPPORT ON RHODESIA. AT THIS MOMENT IT IS IN THESE AREAS THAT WE MUST CONCENTRATE OUR LEVERAGE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE TIME, WE COULD ADD TO THE STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION AT LAGOS BY TALKING ALSO ABOUT OUR INCREASING PRESSURE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA OVER RHODESIA.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

C) EB ALSO RECOMMENDS AGAINST APPROVAL OF B AND C. WE SHOULD NOT ADOPT A SANCTION POLICY EXCEPT AS A MATTER OF LAST RESORT. WE SHOULD NOT IN ANY EVENT DO SO UNILATERALLY. OUR POLICY IN THIS CONNECTION SHOULD BE BASED ON BROAD NATIONAL INTERESTS AND NOT THE PROXIMITY OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

D) AN ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO PREPARE A POSITION ON THE BASIS OF PART "A" ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENT PROGRESS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TO SUSTAIN SUCH A POSTURE AT LAGOS. WE WOULD ALSO PREPARE A CONTINGENCY POSITION DRAWING ON PART "B" TO BE USED IN THE EVENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA FAILS TO COOPERATE ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IO FAVORS THIS AS A FALL-BACK.

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APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

6. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS:

A) PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

B) REVIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

--RESTATEMENT OF THE POSITION TAKEN DURING THE MONDALE-VORSTER TALKS.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

--REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOLLOWING THE VIENNA TALKS.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

C) PROJECTING FUTURE ACTION:

--ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE REVIEW OF ALL OFFICIAL U.S./SOUTH

AFRICA RELATIONSHIPS.

APPROVE

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DISAPPROVE

--URGE ADHERENCE TO A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR U.S. FIRMS
OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

--CALL ATTENTION OF U.S. BUSINESSMEN TO APARTHEID AS A
FACTOR THEY SHOULD CONSIDER BEFORE INVESTING IN SOUTH
AFRICA.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

D) ANNOUNCING ACTION:

--SUSPENSION OF EXIM FACILITIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

--REVIEW OF U.S. EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

7. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:STESCUDERO; CLEARED BY AF:WEDMOND-
SON; EB:JKATZ; S/P:WALAKE; IO:CWMAYNES; UNA:AHOLLOWAY;
S/S: APPROVED BY

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: APARTHEID, TOSEC, POLICIES, MEETINGS
Control Number: S7720988
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE191917
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNP:SESCUDERO:EK/CB/JH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770291-0974
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197708117/baaaetmx.tel
Line Count: 429
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c38ab350-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1445670
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE: FOLLOWING FOR REVIEW AND DISCUSSION WITH SECRETARY, TIME PERMITTING,
ON RETURN FLIGHT (ACTION MEMORANDUM -- S/S 7720988)
TAGS: PORG, SHUM, OCON, RH, SF, NI, US
To: SECRETARY INFO USUN N Y MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c38ab350-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009